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30 YEARS ON ALCATRAZ

New Sobell brief charges frame-up, asks new trial

By Elmer Bendiner

FROM MARCH 6 to March 29, 1951, Morton Sobell stood trial along with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for conspiring to transmit defense data to the Soviet Union. The case against Morton Sobell rested on only two factors: the testimony of an admitted perjurer, Max Elitcher, who had an axe to grind in co-operating with the government; and seeming evidence that Sobell had "fled" with his family to Mexico to avoid arrest.

Last week Sobell's attorneys produced evidence to blow the "flight" story sky-high and to support a charge of a gigantic frame-up conspiracy knowingly perpetrated by the FBI, Roy Cohn (one of the prosecutors before he became Sen. McCarthy's counsel), Irving Saypol (another prosecuting attorney and now a judge), the U.S. Embassy in Mexico, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Mexican secret police.

The story of kidnaping, assault and fraudulent documentation is crucial because the factor of Sobell's alleged flight was by far the most telling blow against him. Judge Irving R. Kaufman in his charge said the jurors could conclude that flight was "legitimate ground for an inference of a guilty mind."

NEW EVIDENCE: On April 5, 1951, the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and Morton Sobell to 30 years' imprisonment. He was held in Atlanta Penitentiary until Nov. 26, 1952, and since then has been in the grim, maximum-security prison of Alcatraz. The fresh evidence, never before revealed, is contained in a brief filed last week in Federal District Court in New York by attorneys Donner, Kinoy and Perlin of New York and Benjamin Dreyfus of San Francisco. The brief asks freedom for Morton Sobell at once, or a new trial.

It charges Sobell was convicted on "false and perjurious testimony and evidence . . . false representations . . . and suppressed evidence."

The prosecution contended that Sobell and his family had gone to Mexico without a visa, under false names and were deported from Mexico by Mexican authorities. The government produced an alleged record from the Immigration and Naturalization Service with Sobell's signature and stamped across it the words: "Deported from Mexico." The government also brought an immigration inspector stationed at Laredo, Texas, to confirm the document. Both Saypol and Cohn repeat-

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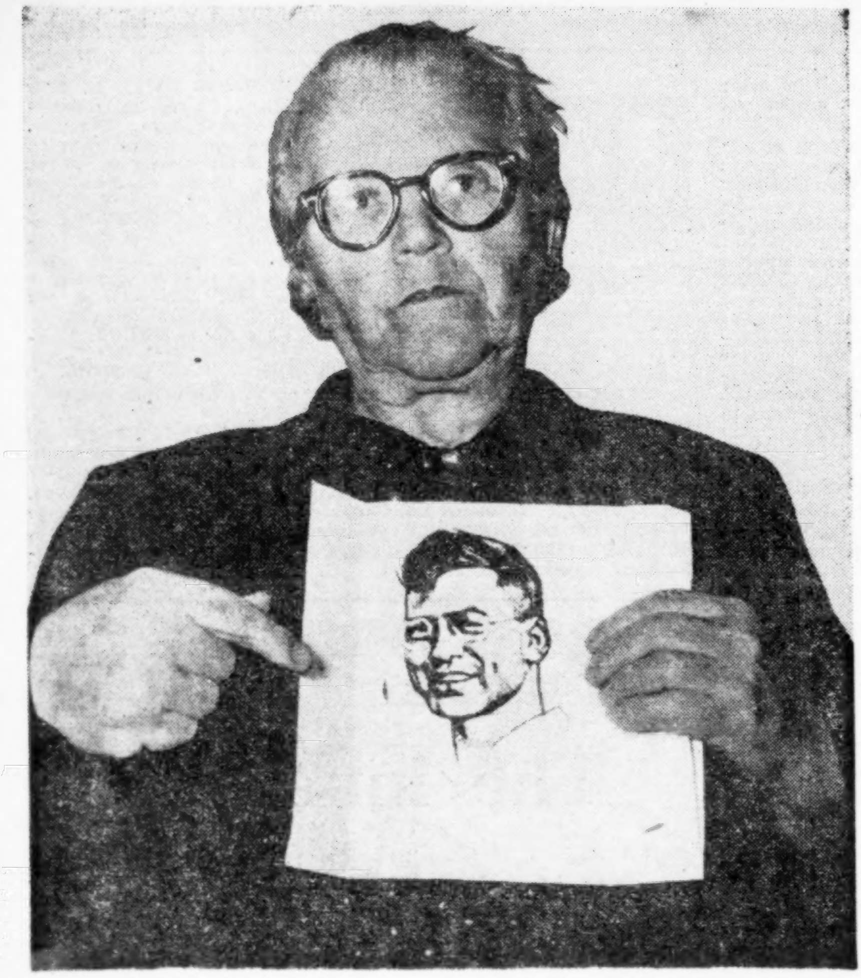


This is my son — help me to free him

Mrs. Rose Sobell, mother of Morton Sobell, holds a drawing of her son Morton, serving a 30-year term on Alcatraz. This photo first appeared in the illustrated weekly "Vie Nuove" in Rome. For news of the Sobell case, see right and Cedric Belfrage's story on page 8.

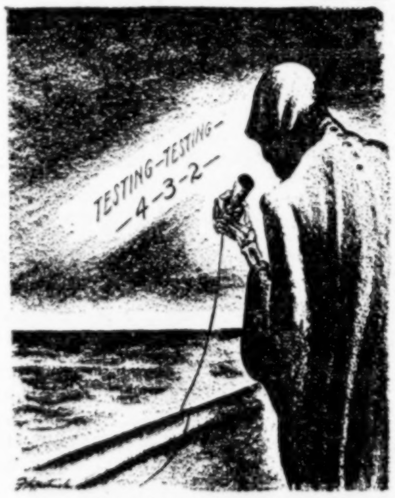
THE WIND IS WRONG

U. S. goes ahead with bomb tests despite the protest

IGNORING WORLDWIDE PROTEST, Washington is going ahead with its nuclear tests in the Pacific. Up to this writing, unfavorable weather has temporarily prevented America's folly; but the H-bomb blast has been scheduled to go off as soon as the wind is right.

A year ago at the Bandung conference, 29 Asian and African nations unanimously opposed nuclear bomb tests. Since then, the Japanese parliament has passed several resolutions and Japanese newspapers

(Continued on Page 4)


TESTING—TESTING—
—4-3-2—

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Preview of doomsday

BUSTER CRABB IN PORTSMOUTH HARBOR

Case of the Missing Frogman

(Special to The Guardian)

LONDON

"THE CASE of the Missing Frogman," revealing that British bad manners toward the recent Soviet guests B and K were not all on the Labour side, seemed last week to have produced a tie score between government and opposition. Labourites, still red-faced from the exposure of their boorishness in inviting B and K to dinner and demanding satisfaction on "200 imprisoned Social Democrats," waded gleefully into the offensive when the "frogman" case was aired in Parliament.

The "frogman", Commdr. Lionel (Buster) Crabb, is "presumed to have died" in the course of a diving mission in Portsmouth harbor under the cruiser Ordzhonikidze which brought B and K to Britain. Under a barrage of Labour questions as to the nature of Crabb's research and who assigned him to it, it was Prime Minister Eden's turn to blush. Before it was over his face was the color of a brick. He said it was "not in the public interest" to answer but that the mission was without the "authority or knowledge of Her Majesty's Ministers." When prodded into adding that "there are certain issues which are the responsibility of the Prime Minister himself," he as good as admitted that Crabb was sent by the Secret Service whose activities are reported only to the P.M.

FROG MANNERS: Whatever the Secret Service's interest was in the underwater parts of the Ordzhonikidze, the secrecy was exploded when, after Crabb's disappearance, cops called at the Portsmouth hotel where he and his unidentified partner had stayed. They demanded that pages of the hotel register showing Crabb's and his partner's names be torn out and handed over; and—according to Labour MP John Dugdale—"threatened the hotel proprietor with action under the Official Secrets Act if he did not allow this to be done." Solemnly but with obvious satisfaction Labour leader Gaitskell asked Eden whether, in the absence of any explanation, "we are to assume that an officer of Her Majesty's Forces was in fact engaged on the business of espionage during the Russian visit?"

Net result was that both government and opposition stood accused of bad form. Labourites felt better because, in the words of one: "It is bad enough to insult your dinner guests, but it is much worse to go through the baggage of people who are staying with you—and be caught at it."

JUST OUT SHOPPING: Tory newspapers scored another point by reporting that Traian Cercega, one of the Labour leaders' "200 imprisoned Social Democrats" whom they listed as in a Moscow jail, had just written a letter to Gaitskell from Bucharest. Radio Bucharest quoted Cercega as informing Gaitskell that at the time when he was alleged to have been jailed in Moscow he was "as a matter of fact just going to buy a fat pig, according to our custom, so as to be well supplied with home-made sausages during the winter."

The only ones coming out of it with a good Emily Post rating seemed to be the Russians, who said a crew member had seen and reported a "frogman" operating near the Ordzhonikidze at Portsmouth. They had been too polite to say anything about it to their British hosts. But, said the **Manchester Guardian** in a stiff "you're another" editorial:

"Perhaps we need not feel too bad about it . . . Is it really to be supposed that our ships at Leningrad last summer were not closely scrutinized?"

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REPORT TO READERS

The innocents

ON AUGUST 8, 1951, this newspaper published on the front page the story of a visit of the Rosenberg sons, 4 and 8, with their parents in the Sing Sing prison death house. To the children, after they sang with their mother from the **Fireside Song Book** and the older boy discussed chess and baseball with his father, Julius Rosenberg said:

"You know we are innocent, we have always told you so and I want you never to forget it. We are taking our case before the courts, and the facts will come out some day."

That week attorney Emanuel Bloch obtained an extension from Aug. 15 to Oct. 15 for filing the record and brief in the first Rosenberg appeal. And we promised that "between now and then the GUARDIAN will expose the 'evidence' on which two beloved and respected American parents, who have never ceased to proclaim their total innocence, have been ordered to their deaths by their government."

IN THE WEEKS THAT FOLLOWED, under an opening headline which asked "Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold war America?", the GUARDIAN began to tell for the first time in any newspaper the dread story of the frameup of the Rosenbergs and the enmeshment with them of scientist Morton Sobell.

Today that story, painstakingly searched out by the pioneering reporter William A. Reuben and forced by GUARDIAN readers to world attention despite a total press blackout, is again moving a compassionate world to action.

Correctly, growing legions of people perceive that in winning justice for Morton Sobell, vindication must come at last for the martyred parents who chose death rather than help foster the Big Lie of our time.

IT IS WITH IMMENSE SATISFACTION, therefore, that we report the news this week of the great stirrings in support of justice for Sobell; the tireless work of his wife and mother in bringing the facts to light; and the significant appeals of "name" people here and abroad for an end to the persecution of this innocent, entrapped man.

The conscience of a world does not awaken by itself; it must be prodded, forced to sit up and take notice, confronted with facts, shown the way to repair the damage; and, perhaps at length, aroused to punishing the real malefactors and preventing recurrence of their injustices.

WE OF THE GUARDIAN are grateful to our readers for the opportunity you have given us, in insuring our continuation through the years, to perform the primary tasks which have led to universal concern over the denial of justice in the land which presumes to lead the forces of the "free" world.

— THE GUARDIAN

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THE MAIL BAG

Socialism defined

LONDON, ENGLAND

What is Socialism? The word 'socialism' is a much misused word in the world today. To some folk the Soviet Union is Socialist; to others Britain, under a Labor government, was Socialist. But to me a Socialist society must be an entirely new and different society from the present one—including the Soviet Union. Socialism, unfortunately, does not exist anywhere in the world today. It must be universal—i.e., worldwide—in character, without class, race, religious or group antagonisms and hatreds. It will be a system of society wherein the means of living (the land, factories, offices, railroads, etc.) are the common possession of all people; a world where all who are mentally and physically capable will freely contribute of their best, and will take from that society that which they need and desire.

Socialism must be brought about not by "leaders," but by the immense majority — when they understand the present capitalist society and desire an alternative one, free from war, insecurity and violence.

Peter E. Newell,
Socialist Party
of Great Britain

On DuBois

BRONX, N.Y.

I can't agree with Dr. DuBois about boycotting the election. I think we should go to the polls and write in the letters "F.D.R." showing we are for the New Deal of Roosevelt. Also form F.D.R. clubs in every district to make sure the write-in vote is counted.

S.H.

Will it be a farce?

NEVADA CITY, CALIF.

Dr. DuBois, there is no party registered on the election ballot which truly represents the American masses; if a third party is debarred from entering this election, then our election is but a disgusting farce, and it is up to the American citizens to show their utmost contempt for our so-called free elections.

Robert Scherlie

Initiative 198

SEATTLE, WASH.

In Mississippi, Negroes have been sacrificing their lives in order that they might attain the right to vote. Here in Washington State, we trade unionists are turning to the ballot box in order to defeat the attempt of the N.A.M. to foist a so-called "right to work" law (Initiative 198) on us and break our unions.

Believe me, we are not advocating a "boycott" of the polls. We are getting our membership registered to vote, in order to defeat Init. 198 this fall. We are going to vote against the Cadillac Cabinet and for liberal candidates for Congress and state Legislature. If we have to vote for Stevenson in order to get General Motors out of government, well we will vote for Stevenson, although we prefer Kefauver.

Please leave us trade union men and women out of any grandiose plans you may have cooked up, because we are very busy fighting with our backs to the wall for our very existence as an organized body. In due time we will get around to building a labor party in cooperation with the poor farmer and the Negro people.

Jack Wright

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MEMPHIS, May 4 (UP)—Freedom of speech and freedom of the press were the topics of two lectures at a "Civil Rights School" presented by the FBI for police officers here. Newsmen were barred from the meeting.

N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun
May 4, 1956.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: P. Young, New York City. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

NOTICE

The new address of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is 197 E. Fourth St., New York 9, New York. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800. However, all mail addressed to us at 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, will be forwarded to our new address promptly.

A third party

BRONX, N.Y.

It is my opinion that although no major crisis has developed as yet in our country, they are still part and parcel of our economic order. In the event that one takes place in the future, there should be a third party in the field to give Americans a decent alternative. In the meantime I'd suggest a vote for the Socialist, Socialist-Labor or any other party just to prove we progressives are still alive and kicking.

S.T.

Stalin's role

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Lenin and Stalin stood together in life and are now fitfully lying side by side in death. It is such a friendship that helped make Stalin the great leader that he was.

The most wonderful thing that has ever happened to the working people everywhere is the rise of the colossal structure of the first Socialist republic. This happened under the leadership of Stalin. I don't think the working class everywhere or anywhere likes to forget this fact.

Mistakes, if that is what Stalin is accused of, is part of our human makeup. Perhaps they are the base from which we keep learning. It is Stalin who said: "Leaders come and leaders go, but it is the people who matter."

We need only to look at the Soviet Union today, remembering the Second World War that took place a mere few years after the first Five Year Plan; the begining of a successful development of a tremendous country under a Socialist government for the first time in the history of society, to be grateful to Stalin. The present policy in the Soviet Union regarding Stalin is one of great fallacy on the part of the present leadership. Rather should the present leadership concentrate in doing as great a job in their day as Stalin did in his.

B.T.

Free translation

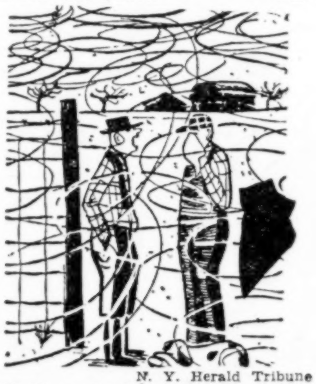
RIDGEFIELD, N.J.

Your taking of Soviet statements, policies and decrees at their face value is touching. Your faith in Soviet correctness is truly one that passeth all understanding. Your readiness to admit past errors and possibly faults (even crimes, maybe?) on the part of the late Great Stalin is so mathematically determined by the degree of departure from those days and the disowning of some of Stalinism by the present "collective leadership" that it can be put on a graph, showing exact ups and downs in perfect goosestep time.

You have hitched your little red wagon to the Soviet star, and by god, you folks are trying to pull us up to—or rather, down to—the Soviets via thinly veiled transmission belts.

Wm. E. Monaghan

The GUARDIAN has simply reported the facts. — *ED.*



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"If they don't hurry that soil bank I won't have any soil left to put in it."

Cyprus & Puerto Rico

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Makarios is to Cyprus what Albizu Campos is in Puerto Rico to the nationalist movement. The majority of the American press "regrets" the British "mistake" in sending Makarios to exile, but condemns the Puerto Rican leader for the same "crimes" of "terrorism" that caused bloodshed on the island several years ago.

For your information, the State Dept. sent recently the Mayoress of San Juan, Puerto Rico, on a "goodwill mission" to tell the people of Latin America that Puerto Ricans are "satisfied and happy" with their so-called Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. However, Mrs. Rincon, on her return to Puerto Rico, told the local press and Governor Munoz Marin that people in Latin America generally do not believe that her country is "free" or "happy" at all. Apparently she was unable to convince those people that the U.S. is their "good neighbor," not their exploiter. They know too much about such "friends" as Standard Oil, United Fruit, Anaconda Copper and other noted "benevolent" Wall Street neighbors.

Maria Luisa Ruiz

Wake up!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We hope you will start printing the truth about the corruption going on all over, such as the hospitals, the undertaker and cemetery racket.

Elderly people who have built up the country are starving while food is rotting in some of the storage houses. Let us see you print the truth so people can wake up and get together.

E. Hagemann

Poetry workshop

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

I am currently conducting a workshop in poetry where poets may read and have their work discussed.

The group also features free-ranging talks on many aspects of the craft of poetry, the arts as a whole, and society.

Those interested in joining are asked to send examples of their work to me at P. O. Box 96, Long Island City 4, New York.

Martha Millet.

Wesley Wells birthday

OAKLAND, CALIF.

On May 23 Wesley Robert Wells will "celebrate" his 47th birthday, his 27th behind prison bars.

I know that even his great courage will be buoyed up by proof that the people are still behind his fight for justice and freedom. Prison rules permit him to receive birthday cards from anyone.

The address is Wesley Robert Wells, Box 24155, California Medical Facility, Vacaville, Calif.

Aubrey Grossman

NOBODY IS SAYING MUCH

Mollet's trip to Moscow has all Paris speculating

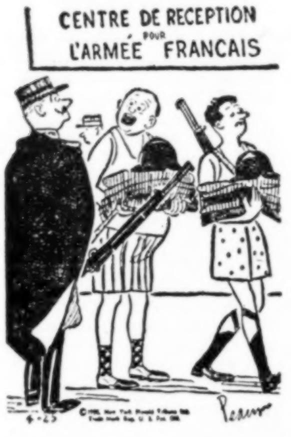
By Anne Bauer

PARIS

DISCREET silence surrounds Premier Mollet's forthcoming long-planned Moscow trip. Is the succession of important political engagements on the government calendar (the NATO session, immediately followed by Marshal Tito's Paris visit), responsible for the lack of comment? Is it prudence, understandable on the part of a government facing a difficult situation in Algeria and dangerous pro-Fascist attacks at home?

Despite official silence, observers agree that the Premier's Moscow journey—the most important political event with which the Mollet government has as yet been associated—takes place under uncommonly favorable auspices. Here are some of the facts and circumstances that encourage optimism.

(1) Mollet leaves for the Soviet Union thoroughly briefed. His information on the intentions and dispositions of the Soviet partners to his Moscow talks is due to various sources, all first-hand.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Honest, I'm a tourist! I thought I was signing up for a Paris bus tour."

Vincent Auriol, Socialist ex-President of the Republic, spent a few weeks in the Soviet Union last month upon the invitation of the Soviet government. He has fully reported to Mollet and Pineau about his trip.

FULLY INFORMED: Marshal Tito, officially visiting France only a few days before Mollet's departure, made it his business this past year to explain the East to the West. The effects of the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, the changes in the Soviet Union lately, are sure to form a major part of his conversations with the French government.

More information on Moscow's views is coming to Mollet from a delegation of Socialist deputies and senators travelling in the U.S.S.R. since April 28. Invited as Socialists, distinct from Mollet and Pineau who will go as government heads, the delegation is touring the country far and wide, writing more or less its own travel ticket. It not only visited factories and schools, nurseries and collective farms, but also asked to see a forced labor camp. It also had some lively private discussions with the Soviet leaders. Officially, it has refrained from making the slightest disparaging remark, saying or doing anything that might be construed as an unfriendly gesture toward its hosts.

The London visit of B and K and the Labor Party incident have created a precedent of a sort. There is every indication Mollet will avoid the gaucheries of his English colleagues.

(2) A certain identity of interests cannot but help the Moscow conversations to a good start.

ISSUE OF GERMANY: This identity is geographic regarding Germany. France and the U.S.S.R., its closest big neighbors, suffered most cruelly from the Nazi invasion. Mollet and Pineau, as Socialists and zealous defenders of Little Europe (the European Army yesterday, the Coal and Steel Pool today, the Euratom tomorrow) may try to avoid this fact; they cannot ignore it as government heads.

Oddly enough, their Moscow trip takes place precisely when two Socialist gospel truths—Franco-German reconciliation and European integration—begin to look just a little less infallible than they were proclaimed to be earlier.

The honeymoon between Paris and Bonn has been called off, at least for the moment; the declarations of true love have been replaced by some irritation on both sides, calmed on the surface only by polite reassurances. Bonn has lately sung too often and too stubbornly the old song about the persistent military menace from the East not to annoy the Mollet government as it attempts to improve East-West relations. Paris has been too willing to consider disarmament **prior to** German reunification not to worry Adenauer.

POOL BACKFIRE: As for the European movement, Little Europe's first working institution—the Coal and Steel Pool—just has backfired seriously for the first time, ironically enough in the hands of a Socialist government, chief promoter of the European idea. The French steel industry, taking advantage of its right of free price movements established by the Pool, has raised the steel price by about 4%, against the will of the government. If the incident is not important enough to throw serious doubts upon the Little Europe idea as a whole, it might, at least, get some of its partisans seriously to re-examine its more immediate, practical economic effects.

The identity of Franco-Soviet interests is far less problematic when it comes to the Middle East. Both countries oppose the Baghdad Pact. The Soviet Union's recent proposal to stop arms shipments to all Middle Eastern countries—rejected by London and Washington—would, if not solve France's Algerian problem, at least help prevent all-out warfare there. The Middle East will no doubt provide one of the most fruitful topics of the Moscow conversations.

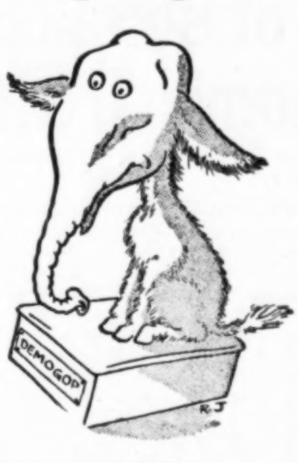
(3) It pays to be independent. Recent British and U. S. reactions to some of Mollet's and Pineau's criticisms of Atlantic policies have proved it.

Pineau brought about a last minute change in the NATO communiqué, drawn up by Belgium's Spaak, to eliminate some aggressively anti-Soviet statements.

To observers here the viability of NATO seems unstable in the face of improving East-West relations and disarmament. ("The Atlantic Community, if it has ever really existed, is nothing more but a word today" wrote **Le Monde** on the closing day of the NATO session.)

Nevertheless, the independence Mollet and Pineau displayed at the NATO conference will score a valuable token of goodwill as they arrive in Moscow.

Springle



There once was party—
(Some said there were two)—
They had so many candidates
They didn't know what to do.
"I can tell you just what,"
Cried the voice that was firmest—
"You can send the whole lot
To a good taxidermist."

TROUBLE AHEAD

Automation stirs British unrest; Coventry strikes

(Special to the Guardian)

COVENTRY, ENGLAND.

THE FIRST major upheaval in Britain caused by automation of industry began April 27 when 12,000 workers at the Standard Motors plant here went on "unofficial" strike. The company laid off 3,500 men when it started installing an $11 million push-button plant for making tractors, and said: "We cannot carry the same number of employes for fun. We must prepare ourselves in these competitive markets." The workers struck after the company declined to negotiate on the basis of spreading jobs among all 12,000 working a four-day week. The strike was supported by employes of subcontracting firms installing the new plant.

The **Manchester Guardian** said that the workers' fear of "permanent redundancy" resulting from automation "appears to be genuine." Amalgamated Engineering Union organizer Cyril Taylor told the strikers: "There is no doubt that the strike will be made official by all the unions." The London **Times**, editorializing on the strike's fifth day about the annual meeting of the AEU national committee, said its resolutions were "wholly out of touch with reality"; "most fantastic of all" were those on automation declaring that displaced workers should be retained until other work was found for them. The **Times** said "many of these resolutions were sponsored by Communists" and that the meeting was "dominated by a handful of Communists and fellow-travellers." The AEU has a Communist on its council and another Communist received the top vote in the first ballot for the presidency.

Last week 11,000 Coventry workers were reported back on the job while negotiations continued. Reports said the employers had postponed the projected lay-offs and might cancel them altogether. The London **Daily Mirror** called it "the first big strike of the Robot Revolution."

THE GENERAL AND THE 92D DIVISION

Clark's Negro troop smear draws fire

GEN. MARK W. CLARK'S command in the 1942 Italian campaign included the 92nd (Buffalo) Division, all-Negro but commanded by white officers. The general, now retired, is president of The Citadel, a military school in Charleston, S. C.

Clark told an anti-integrationist Southern Regional Conference of State Governments luncheon on April 27 that the 92nd Division was "the worst" he had in the war. The Negro soldiers, he declared, were "not reliable and they bolted from the enemy." He added: "I did not feel then that we should integrate and I don't think so now."

That statement shocked—among others—Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, retiring commander-in-chief of U.S. ground forces in Europe, NAACP Washington bureau chief Clarence Mitchell, asst. to the Secy. of the Army James C. Evans, and NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins. As asst. chief of staff in 1951, McAuliffe played a leading part in integrating the Army. Last week he told reporters he had not been aware of any opposition by Gen Clark to the Army's integration order.

PRINCIPLES AND PAY: NAACP's Mitchell was more direct: "Clark never took a strong stand against integration before he became president of The Citadel. Now that he is down in S. Carolina, he is saying what he thinks is popular and will help him hold his job. Perhaps that is why he is trying to re-fight the battle against integration that the diehards lost in the Pentagon and Korea. I think Gen. Clark is an example of a man trading his principles for a pay check."

Evans said "the greatest victory we had in Korea was the integrated use of our manpower" and that officers who opposed it before Korea "now say they would never go back to segregated units." Wilkins reminded the general that "a similar voice from the past maintained that American Negroes were incapable of flying aircraft." Benjamin O. Davis Jr., a Negro, is now a brigadier general, vice-commander of the 13th Air Force based in the Philippines and commander of the Air Task Force on Formosa. His command embraces white and Negro enlisted and officer personnel.

THE EARLIER CLARK: The 92nd Division originated as an all-Negro outfit in World War I. During that war certain of its elements were decorated by the French. The incident on which Gen. Clark hangs his criticism is known officially as the battle of Cinquale Canal, in Italy, where a unit of the 92nd was said to have failed. A civilian postwar study based on War Dept. records, reveals that 81% of the division was illiterate or semi-literate; that, owing to segregation and discrimination in billeting, recreation and leaves of absence, the enlisted personnel's morale was extremely low. The study shows that, despite the Cinquale Canal debacle, the outfit's individual members had good records for heroism. They won two Distinguished Service crosses, one Distinguished Service medal, 16 Legion of Merit medals, 95 Silver and 723 Bronze stars. Gen. Clark himself, earlier—in his book **Calculated Risk** (1950)—wrote an explanation in which Negroes generally concur:

"It would be dishonest and unfair to future Negro soldiers to overlook the serious handicaps which they had to overcome . . . This failure I view not as a reflection on the Negro soldier or officer but as a reflection on our handling of the minority problems at home . . . The Negro soldier needed greater incentives, a feeling that he was fighting for his home and country and that he was fighting as an equal. Only the proper environment in his own country can provide such an incentive."

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HOW IS U. S. MEETING IT?

The challenge of socialism on world economic front

By Kumar Goshal

THE SPECTACULAR increase in economic cooperation among the socialist countries, and between the socialist countries and the underdeveloped nations of the world, has sharply focused American attention on Washington's foreign aid policy.

Newspapers have devoted columns to the subject; economic experts, trade union officials, candidates for office—and even the President and the Secy. of State—have all felt obliged to comment. There is general agreement that the U. S. today faces not a military but an economic challenge from the socialist world.

How effectively the Eisenhower administration is meeting this challenge can be gauged by events of the past two weeks.

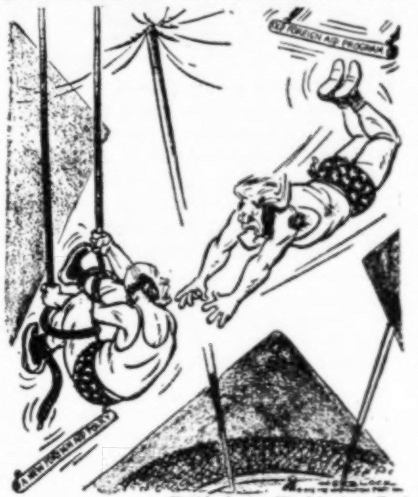
A LOT OF MONEY: The N. Y. **Times** (5/6) partially indicated the scope of this challenge. It said Secy. Dulles himself had put the total Soviet economic aid to three countries (India, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia) at about $600 million. Soviet CP Secy. Khrushchev declared last February that Moscow had granted long-term credits totaling $5¼ billion to other socialist countries at 2% interest; China alone was scheduled for industrial equipment worth nearly $1½ billion, to be delivered during its present five-year plan period.

"The magnitude of these money figures," the **Times** said, "may be suggested in other terms: Soviet economic aid to other Communist nations is making possible the building of 9 million tons of steel capacity, 4 million tons of oil-refining capacity, 5,400,000 kilowatts of electric power generating capacity, among other projects." (The figures do not take into account economic agreements between the socialist countries—including the Soviet Union—and such countries as Burma, Egypt, Syria, etc.)

THERE'S AN ALTERNATIVE: Another aspect of this challenge, resulting from cooperation with the socialist countries, comes from the underdeveloped nations themselves, who are in a hurry to modernize their economy and who wish to import largely capital goods to build basic industries. India's Premier Nehru said recently that it was essential for India "to accelerate the rate of economic growth and to speed up industrialization and in particular to develop heavy industries and machine-making industries."

The underdeveloped countries, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (3/22), are no longer "dependent upon us because [in the socialist countries] they now have an alternative supplier of capital and technical aid . . . The emergence of the Soviet Union as a competitor is one of the great historic events of our times." Facing this competitive situation, he said, the U. S. will have to adapt not only its foreign aid policy but "in fact our foreign policy."

LET'S "WAGE PEACE": Aware of this challenge, Adlai Stevenson has called for U. S. economic aid through UN channels, with less emphasis on "rubber check military pacts which will bounce as soon as we try to cash them". U. S. UN delegate Henry C. Lodge Jr. has also advocated more aid through UN. AFL-CIO vice president Walter Reuther has proposed that the U. S. contribute 2% of its gross national product for the next 25 years to a UN fund for economic development in unindustrialized areas. Paul Hoffman, first Marshall Plan administrator, has urged the U. S. to "wage peace" with $5 billion a year for five years as non-military foreign economic aid.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Wait — I haven't got this straightened out yet."

Even the big business Committee for Economic Development has spoken up. Its research and policy committee last February admitted that underdeveloped countries "are in a hurry [and] want to force the pace of development in order to meet popular demands for economic betterment. . . . They would telescope into a few decades economic progress that took generations in the West." It asked the U. S. to "adopt an expanded foreign development program and a more vigorous foreign development policy."

NO FRESH IDEAS: Both the President and Dulles have acknowledged that the socialist challenge is economic, not military; but their response has been unimaginative and archaic. They are still generous with military aid, parsimonious with economic assistance.

Both Mr. Eisenhower and Dulles have opposed U. S. economic aid through the UN. At a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing April 30, Dulles emphasized that "as 83% of American foreign aid was military and contributed to countries allied with Washington in mutual security pacts generally, it would be difficult if not impossible to channel such aid through the UN. As for the other 17%, Dulles said he doubted the wisdom of doing much more than the U. S. now is through the UN" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 4/30).

The Administration is asking Congress to appropriate this year an increase of $2 billion in military aid and only $200 million more in economic aid over last year's appropriations. Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) criticised the heavy emphasis on arms aid as showing "a complete lack of understanding" of the Soviet challenge. Asking "why doesn't the situation call for an increase in economic and cultural activities," Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.) called the aid program "militaristic."

DIVISION IN NATO: In a TV interview, foreign aid director John B. Hollister said he knew of no new plans for economic aid. The N. Y. **Post** said that Hollister's "recommendations dramatically confirm his confession of bankruptcy in high places."

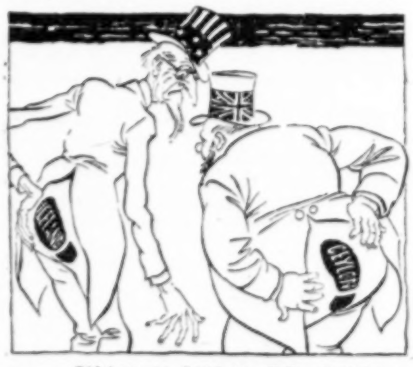
Early this month, Dulles rushed to the spring meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris to prevent its disintegration because of inner squabbles and the impact of the socialist economic policy.

Despite public displays of unity, there has arisen within NATO a serious division on its aims, methods and future. Iceland wants U. S. troops to leave. France has moved all her NATO infantry to fight in N. Africa even as Premier Mollet appealed to the West to free its thinking from the military strait-jacket. And when French Foreign Minister Pineau proposed that NATO and other countries contribute to a special UN fund for economic aid, Dulles "poured cold water on this project" (**NYT**, 5/6).

THOSE 3 WISE MEN: West Germany is stalling on building up its military contribution to NATO because, as Lippmann said (5/3), "military service is unpopular [and] business is booming," and Adenauer wants to use membership in NATO "as a bargaining point in dealing with the Soviets about reunification."

NATO members have failed to agree on a common Middle East policy, and Britain, Greece and Turkey have been in conflict over Cyprus.

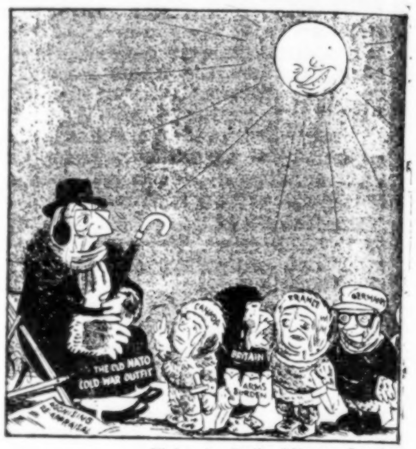
The NATO conference "disclosed every shade of opinion from outright acceptance of Moscow's sincerity to blank skepticism," all based upon a "common pool of information" (**NYT**, 5/9). To cover the discord a committee of "three wise men"—Canada's Lester Pearson, Italy's Gaetano Martino and Norway's Halvard Lange—was set up to consult members and make recommendations at the December meeting.



Bidstrup in Land og Folk, Copenhagen

SORE BASES

VESTED INTERESTS: However, the **Times** felt (5/6) that "the outlook for agreement, even in December, is not good." It declared: "The member nations are not themselves united in purpose . . . Belgium and France are not keen on the idea of international organizations meddling in their colonial business. Others have vested interests in going development schemes . . . The U. S. . . . still feels that the primary task [is] military security in Europe . . ."



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Phew! Shouldn't we change into something more suitable for the changed temperature?"

Its recent actions indicate that the Eisenhower Administration is either unwilling or unable to extricate itself from the military posture which has so far helped to sustain U. S. economy. Others who have supported increased economic aid, have presented no alternative to the various military pacts, bases on foreign soil and support of feudal regimes for American economic and military benefit. All these factors clash with the aspirations of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

REVISION IS NECESSARY: The CED's thinking also is colored by old-fashioned colonial ideas; for, after urging an "expanded foreign development program," it advocates U. S. pressure on underdeveloped countries "to amend or change laws and regulations" regarding foreign investments, and advises these countries not to undertake "heavy industrial projects."

If the U. S. accepts the socialist economic challenge, in an atmosphere of competitive coexistence, the London **New Statesman** said (5/5), "cold war institutions may become dangerous. The periphery of bases, the string of defence pacts, the puppet regimes, the strategic embargoes will then have to be evaluated not in military terms, but in terms of world opinion. For the West can achieve security in the era of peaceful competition only by a revision of cold war policies as imaginative as the new Soviet line."

H-Bomb tests

(Continued from Page 1)

have clamored for suspension of all tests.

The Indian government, the British Labor party, the French representative to the UN Disarmament Commission and Pope Pius XII have all urged a halt to A- and H-bomb tests. Testifying before the Senate Special Subcommittee on Disarmament, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission member Thomas E. Murray has urged Washington to stop testing hydrogen weapons.

MANY VOICES: A leaflet entitled "You Can Still Do Something About the H-Bomb Test" has been circulated by the Southern California branch of the (Quaker) Friends Committee on Legislation. Among the signers are Rev. William Lindsay Young, former moderator of the Presbyterian Church General Assembly; H. Randolph Pyle, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee's Pacific Southwest regional office; Anne Sullivan Reher, founder of Cristines, Catholic women's study group; and Helen Beardsley, member of the Women's Int. League for Peace and Freedom national board.

Nineteen Chicago religious, business and academic leaders have signed an open letter of protest to President Eisenhower, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee's Chicago regional office. Among the signers are Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of the Roman Catholic Church; Dr. Charles F. Boss Jr., exec. secy. of the Methodist Church's World Peace Board; Dr. David Graubert, presiding rabbi of the Beth Din; Prof. David Riesman of Chicago U., author of **The Lonely Crowd**; and Dr. William C. Davidson, co-chairman of the Chicago Atomic Scientists.

IKE'S DECISION: At the February conference in Washington of the American Assn. for the UN, it was suggested that "an important step might be the cessation of the atom bomb tests and that we must strive toward self-executing disarmament agreements."

The Japanese are calling the month of May the "evil season" because of the scheduled tests in the Pacific. Two months ago the Marshall Islanders again protested in the UN Trusteeship Council; the U. S. delegation then circulated a statement saying that "the decision to hold further tests in these islands was of such gravity that it was taken by President Eisenhower himself." This was hardly any consolation to the Marshall Islanders. Both the Soviet and Indian delegations called these tests near a U. S. trust territory a violation of the UN charter.

Hearing Secy. Dulles say that no Americans have protested the tests, four persons in Madison, Wisc., three of them members of the Friends Meeting House, went on a 48-hour hunger strike on May 4. They wired the President that their action was taken "in order to impress on you the seriousness of our objection to the H-bomb tests about to begin in the Pacific."

STILL MORE VOICES: The Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom sponsored a letter of protest which was inserted as an advertisement in the N. Y. **Times** on May 7. Among the 50 signers were Roger Baldwin, director of the Int'l. League for the Rights of Man; Rev. Donald Harrington of New York's Community Church; Lewis Hoskins and Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Comm.; Rev. A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Norman Thomas, Socialist leader; Dorothy Day of the **Catholic Worker**; Freda Kirchwey of **The Nation**; Dr. M. F. Ashley Montagu of Princeton; and authors Kathleen Norris, Stringfellow Barr and H. A. Overstreet.

The letter urged the President to "seek agreement through negotiations with other nations for cessation of all such tests."

"JUST BECAUSE I BEEN BORN AGAIN"

Montgomery: The faith

By Eva Grimes
(Fourth of a series)

THERE IS SOUND REASON to believe that one of the key elements which facilitated organization of Montgomery's Bus Protest was a series of incredible blunders made by city officials there in a wild attempt to choke it. While this negative factor must not be overemphasized in any realistic evaluation of the present tightly-knit movement of 50,000 Negroes against jimcrow transportation, it undoubetdly did serve as an unintentional catalytic agent.

It was a tactical blunder of no mean importance, for instance, when Montgomery police included 30 Negro ministers in the dragnet which led to arrest and indictment of almost 100 active participants in the Bus Boycott. Because of the particular relationship of Negro ministers to the community, especially in the South, and most especially in today's Montgomery, this move not only failed to intimidate the community, but actually served as a rallying point for its mobilization.

PERTINENT FACTS: As even the most superficial reading of Negro history, or today's Negro press, will show, the church is a key community institution; its ministers play a key role in community life. This is neither an appropriate time nor place to argue the question of whether this fact indicates that Negroes are an unusually religious people.

In terms of Montgomery and its unique meaning for our lives in America here and now, it is pertinent to recognize these things: (1) there are well over 100 churches of varying denominations serving that city's Negro population; (2) many officers and members of the Montgomery Improvement Assn's executive board are ministers, including its president, Rev. M. L. King, Jr.; (3) all MIA's bi-weekly mass meetings are held in churches; (4) NAACP rallies are held in churches, and ministers in Montgomery (and throughout the South today) urge their congregrations to register to vote and hold them with citizenship instruction.

EASTER SUNDAY: One Sunday's experience in Montgomery may bring this general picture into specific focus. The spring festival of Easter, with its emphasis on re-birth of hope, re-affirmation of the miracle of life, and re-examination of the meaning of man's ability to emerge triumphant and erect from dark tombs of pain and silence, had peculiar significance this year in Montgomery.

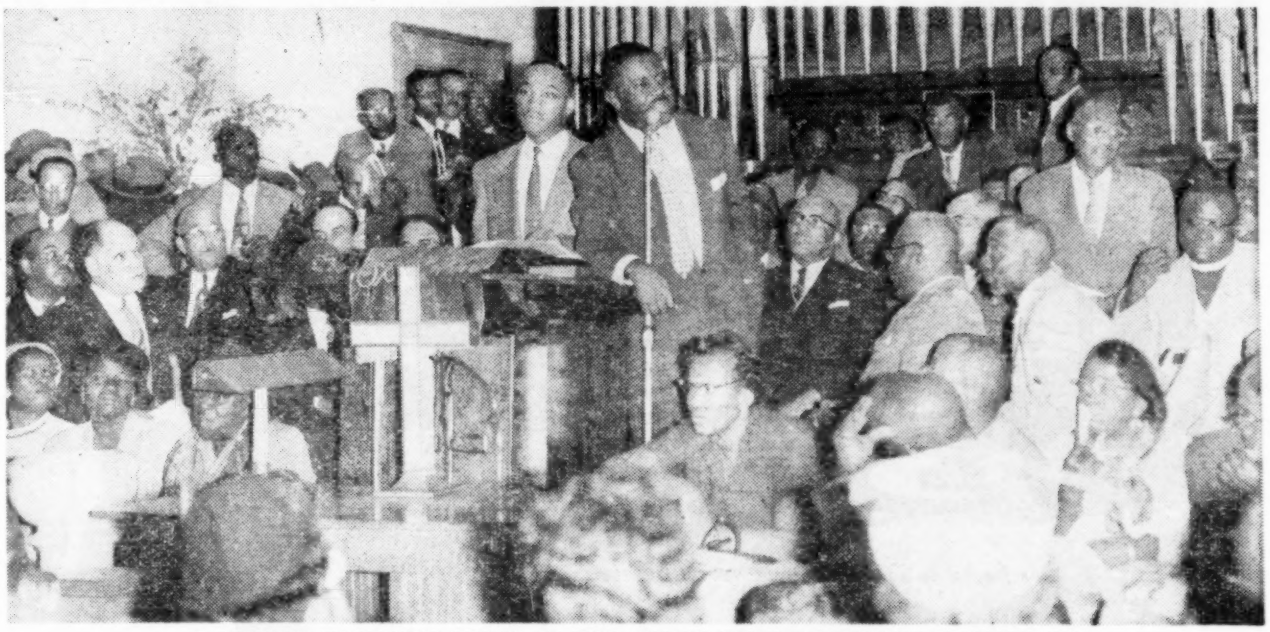
There was, in addition, a definite emphasis on Easter as the children's festival, which does not seem so pronounced in Northern communities. As an old lady, whose more than 80 years compassed almost the total period of Negro struggle for full citizenship, observed: "So glad it turned a pretty Easter for all the li'l chirren. This **their** time."

There was a special section in the front rows of the central seating area set aside for the "li'l chirren" in Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy's First Baptist Church. In addition to the reserved places, children of all ages sat with their parents throughout the church. From time to time a child would cry, or speak aloud, or laugh. On one such occasion, during a solemn part of the service, young Rev. Abernathy smiled and spoke to the parents in his slow, measured, loving voice:

"Let us all remember that there is no sweeter sound in the house of worship than the voices of little children. Let us remember that we are in these struggles today in order to guarantee a future for our children as bright and hopeful as this Easter morning."

TALE OF A BLIND VETERAN: One parent who nodded appreciatively in response to his remark was a strikingly handsome young woman who sat with her two small children. She was Mrs. Martha Kate Walker, who had testified for the defense and against the Montgomery City Bus Lines almost two weeks before, in front of a packed courtroom which recoiled in enforced silent horror when she told why she stopped riding the buses.

She reported numerous instances of verbal abuse, but her account of how she was treated while taking her blind veteran husband to the Veterans' Administration seemed to shock even the state's attorneys. In 1954, she said, she had pulled the bus cord to indicate her intent to get off at the next stop. It was clear that her husband was blind. The bus stopped; Mrs. Walker got off, and, as she was helping her husband to descend, the driver suddenly closed the doors and drove off with her husband's foot helplessly dragging the ground while the other was caught between the doors. The state attorneys recovered from her simple, pained account, however, in time to object to a motion from the defense attorney that Walker be called as a witness. The state of Alabama objected that he could not possibly be a witness to the proceedings because he was blind and could not have witnessed the event. The objection was sustained.



A TYPICAL PLATFORM SCENE AT THE REGULAR BI-WEEKLY MASS MEETINGS
At the microphone, Rev. Abernathy; to his right, Rev. M. L. King Jr.; to his left (seated) Rev. M. L. King Sr.

SOME VERY YOUNG PEOPLE: Now, when Rev. Abernathy walked to the edge of the pulpit platform to announce a choral selection by the Young People's Choir, Mrs. Walker smiled down at her two children with complete understanding of their delight in the season's emphasis on youth. It is characteristic of the Negro church to have several choirs of all age groupings, but the tiny human beings who stood up with such alacrity were certainly **very** young people!

The little girls fluffed out their bright-colored skirts arranged over stiffened wide petticoats. Some of them wore white gloves; all had miniature hats bedecked with spring blossoms or wore fresh ribbons on their braids.

The small boys were solemn and aware of themselves in long trousers and natty jackets over white, white shirts. Many of them wore perky little bow ties under their proudly lifted brown chins.

Reverend Abernathy spoke directly to them before the musical selection started and there was a great deal of delighted nodding of heads and movement of feet shod for Easter in new white or black patent leather or brown.

A SONG OF LOVE: "You know how we're going to sing this song, don't you?" the young minister asked them. "And you know that we love to sing this song because it's a song about hope and love. This is the little children's song because there's nothing sad in it, and we don't want any little children to be sad, or left alone, or have anything hurt them, do we?"

One little person in the very front row, whose pink dress and layers of stiff petticoats made her look like an especially appealing rosebud, kept snapping her stiffly plaited beribboned braids up and down in total enthusiastic response to everything Rev. Abernathy said. And when the piano sounded the first chords of music, her piping notes led all the rest! The contrast and the blending of the minister's deep, sombre voice with the cheeping irregularity of the child choir as they sang together . . . "He arose, yes. He left the tomb and He arose" . . . brought murmurs of approval and delight from all sections of the church.

TWO VISITORS: When the children's song was finished the minister introduced two guests on the platform. They were two white ministers who were visiting the city on behalf of an organization known simply as Brotherhood and to show their solidarity with the aims of all good people in Montgomery. To his Negro congregation, embattled in their fight for equality in the "Cradle of the Confederacy," Rev. Abernathy said:

"We're so glad to welcome these two friends of freedom today. This young minister from Atlanta [nodding toward his left] had never eaten at a table with Negroes until last night. But he tried it and he found that it wasn't so hard. It was just eating at a table with other human beings. And he found we weren't going to spring on him!"

The young preacher turned red, but smiled bravely and openly out to the congregation. They nodded and smiled gravely back.

"THE FOLLOWSHIP": Since Easter Sunday is a high holy day in any Christian denomination, it was also Communion Sunday. Before communion was served the 29-year-old Abernathy, who is also chairman of the MIA program committee and chairman of the NAACP membership campaign, came forward again to the platform's edge. This time his face showed deep distress. His voice, which manages to convey, in all its tones and phrasings, such naked love of his people and their struggles for the good life, was oddly strained. The congregation (or "the followship" as opposed to "leadership") sensed that something was wrong and put out immediately an almost palpable aura of concern, confidence and affection. Such is the relationship between minister and congregation in the Negro church on its best level.

Reverend Abernathy told his people that the big NAACP meeting, scheduled for that afternoon in the gymnasium of Alabama State College for Negroes, had been arbitrarily canceled by city officials. It was to have been a big kick-off for NAACP membership of all Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes. The gymnasium would hold 10,000 people if necessary, and Michigan's young Negro Congressman, Charles Diggs, Jr., was even then on his way to Montgomery by plane. Now, he said, the meeting would have to be held in their own First Baptist Church, but it **would** be held as scheduled at three o'clock. He urged everyone to return for the important occasion. The people were angry, disgusted or disturbed; but they were mainly concerned that their young minister seemed almost to be blaming himself for the deliberate, obvious, white-supremacist tactics of Montgomery officialdom.

ANOTHER WALL: Rev. Abernathy—tied to, responsible to, giving approved leadership to such people—need never have worried. At three o'clock the church was bursting at the seams. There were serious, determined people in all the pews, in the balcony, in the basement, in the stairways, in the aisles, in the streets outside. Through open doors and windows it was possible to see the new green of spring foliage; to hear the voices of children at play in a nearby housing project court.

The people wore their new Easter garments and their spirit of awakening purpose was like another wall in the building. The program went on just as planned. It was opened by a lithe, dimpled, bright-eyed young student from the college who folded her long brown hands and invited the audience to sing the chorus of her song with her:

"You can talk about me just as much
as you please
But I talk about you when I'm down
on my knees . . .
Oooooh!
Just because I been born again!"

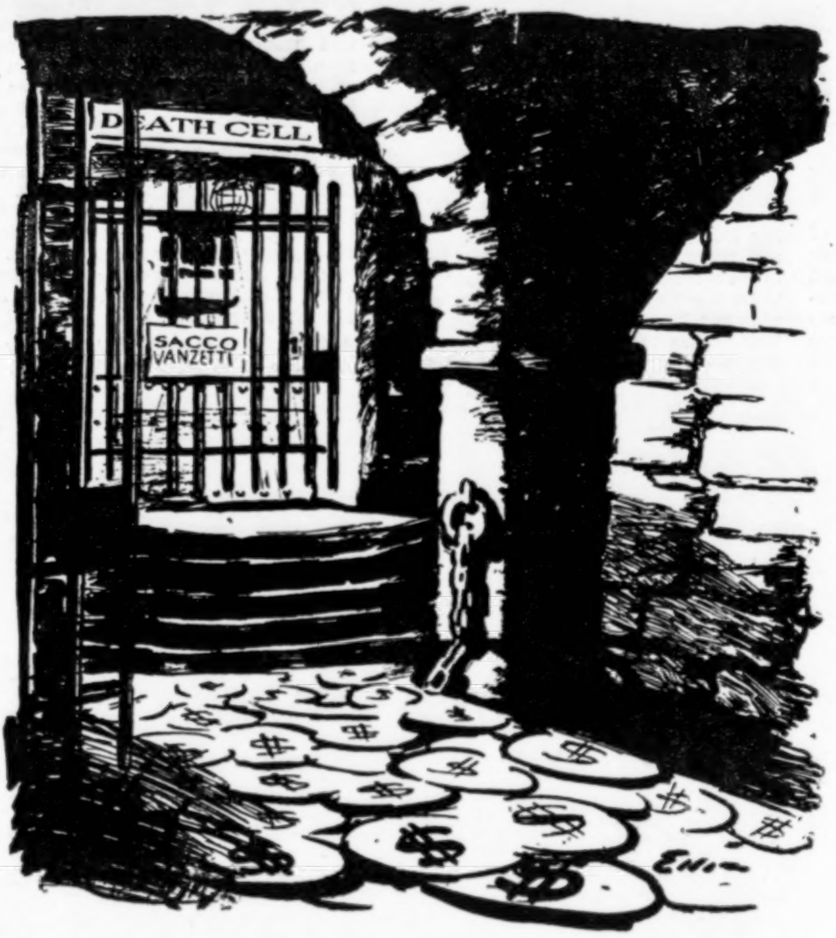
INDIANA UE MAN

Gojack convicted in contempt case

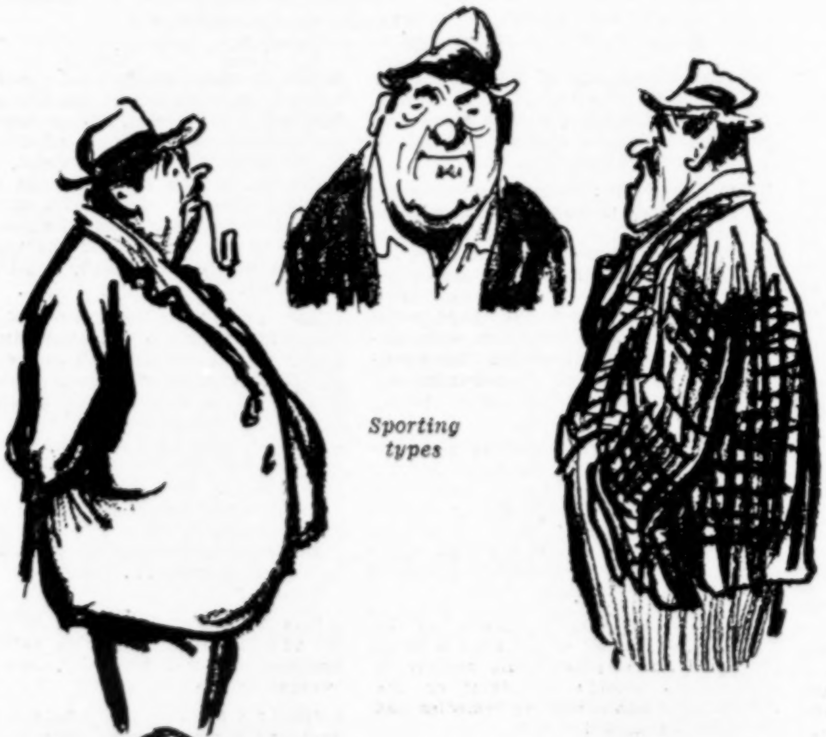
JOHN T. GOJACK, representative in Indiana and Michigan of the independent United Electrical Workers Union, was convicted on May 3 of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions in an earlier appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Tried without a jury before Federal Judge D. A. Pine in Washington, Gojack was declared guilty because he "intentionally and unlawfully refused to answer the questions" put to him about Communist associations. He based his refusal on the First Amendment to the Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech and belief.

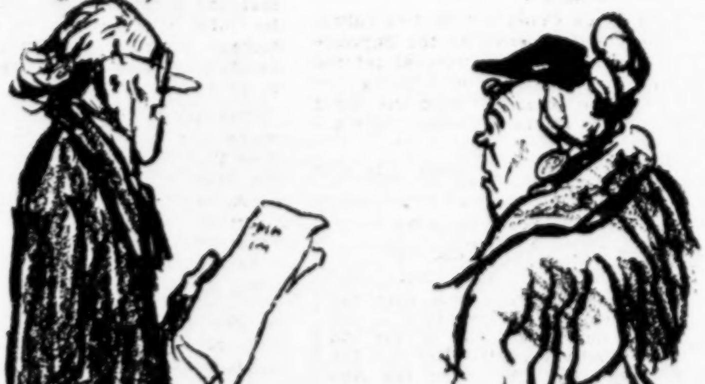
Sentencing was postponed pending a probation report. Maximum penalty under the charge is one year in prison and a $1,000 fine. The conviction will be appealed.



Ellis fought to save Sacco and Vanzetti 29 years ago.



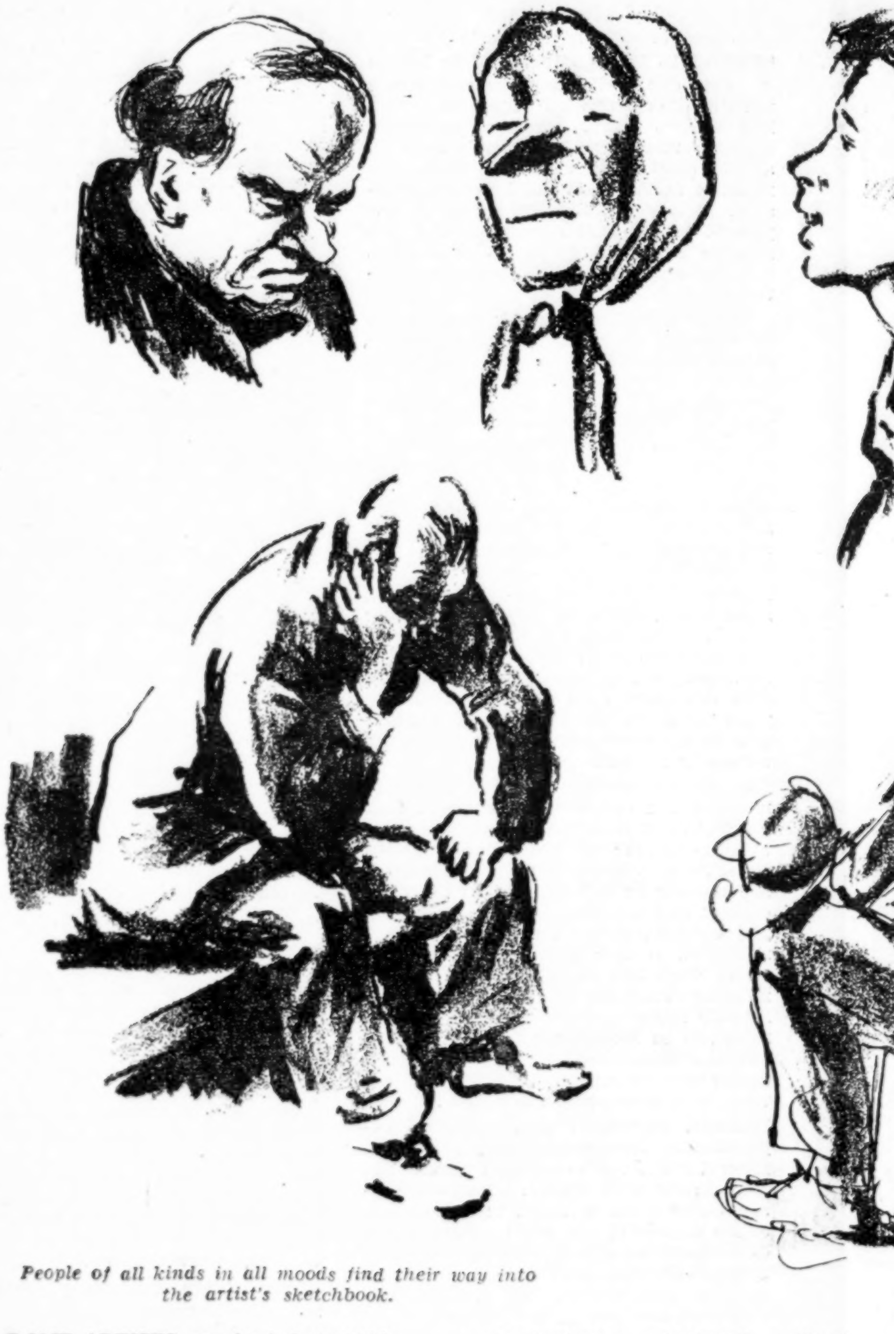
Sporting types



Above, left and right: sketches for illustrations.

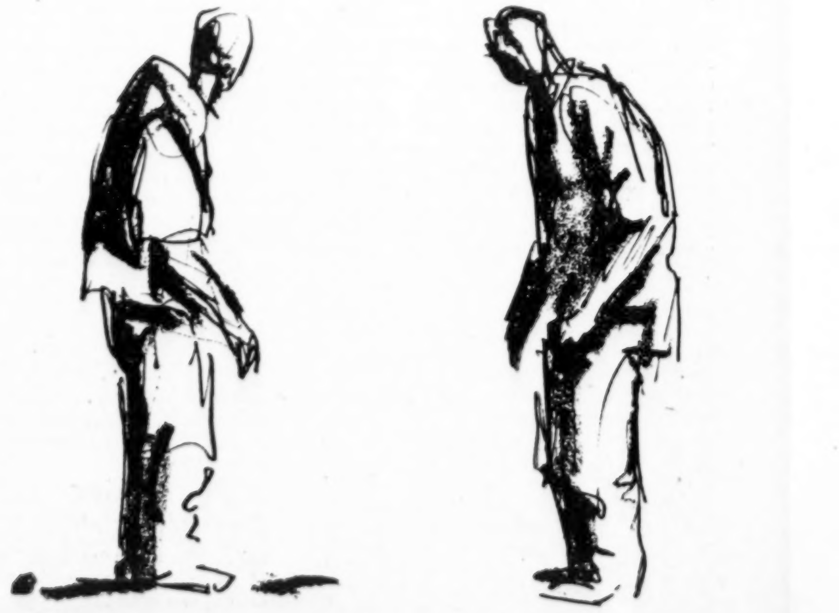
FRED ELLIS AT THREE-SCORE-AND-TEN

Indestructible art jou

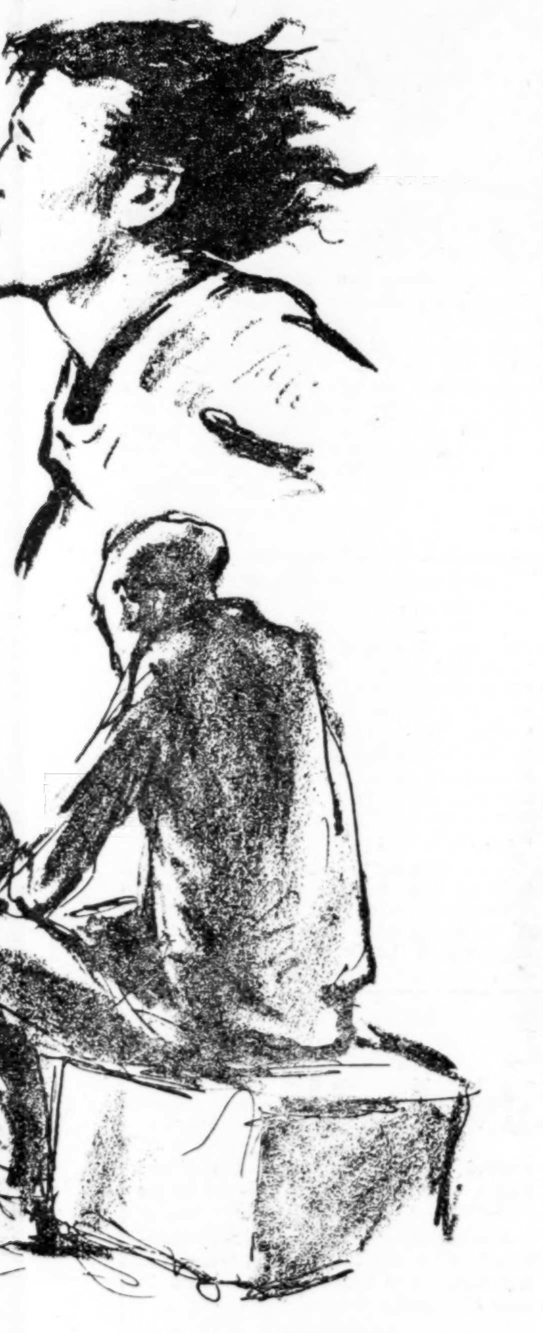


People of all kinds in all moods find their way into the artist's sketchbook.

SOME ARTISTS can be indestructible, though they naturally would rather not have to prove it. Unfortunately, the climate of recent American radicalism has tried its artists' toughness, perhaps unnecessarily. They found themselves in a non-indigenous imitative political movement, a projection by reflection from half-way round the world. In addition to being largely "done with mirrors," our radicalism was dominated by an utterly unrealistic dogma of "realism"



ourneyman



in art. This fostered in turn a philistinism whose apparent aim was to suppress deviations and whose achievements in general were to eliminate imagination and true realism and bring about the apotheosis of the crashing bore.

Journeyman artist Fred Ellis has triumphantly survived 32 years of full-time radical art journalism just as journeyman signpainter Ellis had earlier survived major fractures of the pelvis and both arms and legs in the fall of a high-stage sign job. Now past three-score-and ten, drawing and painting as he wants to draw and paint, he reveals a versatility and imaginative sensitivity which followers of his editorial cartoons may not have suspected.

ADVICE TO ARTISTS: Fred Ellis looks at himself, his work and the world from "the same viewpoint: that of a skilled worker. He does not consider himself a political theorist but an editorial illustrator doing a useful and honest job. The pencils, marking crayons, shoe-blacking and cheap stencil paper with which he has worked were no more than the handiest tools in "the black-and-white game" from which he is now breaking into broader fields of drawing and painting.

To other artists he says: "Paint what you feel." He likes to inquire of dogmatic critics, "When did you last see a workingman?" or "When did you last talk to a Republican?" To him, political and artistic dogmatism are **the** ivory towers.

— Robert Joyce

NO ALLIANCE OF REACTION

Charles Abrams challenges North to investigate bias 'in depth'

By Eugene Gordon

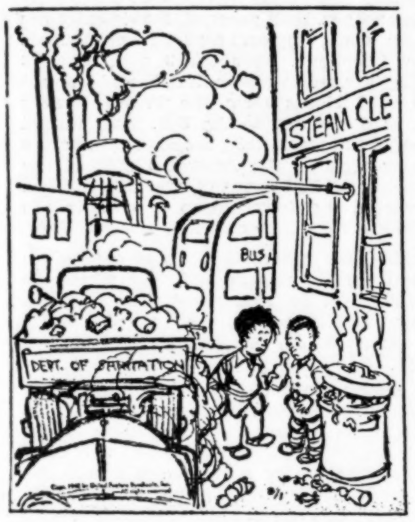
THESE CHANGES in N. Y. State have "profoundly affected" the work of the State Commission Against Discrimination, according to SCAD chairman Charles Abrams, since its founding in 1945:

- Negro population increase from 600,000 in 1940 to well over 1,000,000.
- Mass influx of American citizens from Puerto Rico, raising the number to about 550,000.
- Some 400,000 persons, of whom nearly half were Negro and Puerto Rican, displaced in the past decade by slum clearance, urban renewal and public works.
- A continuing concentration of industry "to the point where 1/10 of 1% of the state's employers" hire 32 percent of the workers.
- Increase of 500,000 workers covered by union agreements, the total now 2.4 million.
- Growing need for trained technicians rather than unskilled workers, owing to automation, threatens to affect "many among the minorities who are excluded from training and apprenticeship programs."
- Rise of "a housing famine for minorities, coupled with a suburban expansion that emphasizes homogeneity and exclusion and accelerates tensions among competitive home-seeking groups."

PROBE IN DEPTH: Speaking at a luncheon for delegates to the annual SCAD conference May 7 on "Discrimination: New Challenge to the North," Abrams declared that in view of the new situations SCAD "can no longer grapple with its problems through a predominantly judicial approach, but must assume the more positive role of initiating investigations in depth into discrimination in employment, up-grading, apprenticeship, housing

He said it was clear that "the isolated laborer and the million-dollar corporation" could no longer solve the problem through the courts unless SCAD had facilities and powers to gather facts "and determine the real obstructions, whether they be at the union, the industrial or the education and training level." To meet its responsibilities, SCAD must have "economic and labor specialists and experts" in the fields concerned.

THE "ZEALOT": Assembly Speaker Heck (R-Schenectady) a few days earlier had attacked Abrams as "unfit personally" to head SCAD: he was too much the "zealot" for "such a sensitive job." Abram's zeal manifested itself in demands for operating funds adequate to the job. Abrams at the luncheon made no reference to Heck's blast but said later that upstate Republican leaders "never wanted to enforce" the anti-discrimination law. He said they feared that to do so would encourage Negroes and Puerto Ricans to migrate there "and upset the balance of political power."



Drawing by Bill Mauldin

"It's a bottle of fresh air I scooped up in Central Park. I take a whiff from time to time."

Abrams said Heck's attack was really aimed at SCAD. He said it was "made simultaneously with his announcement of his candidacy for Governor," and threatened to toss SCAD "into the political boiling pot." Abrams said:

"It threatens to make what should be bipartisan and cooperative effort into a partisan brawl and spotlights political dissensions on a matter that should be above the battle in N. Y. State. I say this particularly because N. Y. State is looked to throughout the country for leadership in the fight against discrimination, and any attempt to undermine its prestige must have unfortunate nation-wide implications."

DANGEROUS ALLIANCE: He told the luncheon audience why SCAD's role was nationally "more important than ever before." More than 1/3 of the U. S. Negro population by 1950 was in the North, while the increase of Southerners in the North "was 33 times as great as the Negro increase." The Negro question therefore was "no longer a Southern monopoly." Real estate groups in Northern and Western cities—including N.Y.C.—have attempted to defeat public housing referendums by raising the scare of Negro or Puerto Rican or Mexican "invasion." Abrams called for alertness to prevent "an open and vocal alliance" of Southern white supremacy and "Northern fear." He said the following developments bear watching:

- Both Republicans and Democrats "have been guilty of mass displacements of minority populations under the aegis of slum clearance or urban renewal." Only N. Y. State protects against jimcrow in FHA-aided projects.
- Promise of an end to job jimcrow by the AFL-CIO merger is challenged "by a Southern block [demanding] continuance of discrimination as a condition for its support"; and "some interstate industries" complain that to hire Negroes "might bring trouble" in the South.
- Commissions against discrimination in employment, housing and public accomodation are unpopular where the feeling has persisted that its protections in employment and housing would encourage minority migrations, though "the migration of Negro and Puerto Rican labor is the consequence of demands by industry or agriculture in the first place."
- National leadership commonly asserted by "Jewish and other sectarian organizations" in the civil rights area is being pressured by branches in the South to go slow, "for fear of identifying their members with the Negro." If the pressure prevailed it would mean silencing one of the most effective voices against bigotry "while simultaneously a recrudescence of anti-Semitism and possibly anti-Catholicism and nativism may be in the offing."
- Both political parties "will be pressed for a watered-down civil rights plank in the national platform to appease the South." If such a program is adopted, "the gains made by the Supreme Court decisions must be diluted" while, worse still, a solid Southern bloc would affect social and other legislation and adversely influence policies in such agencies as FHA, VA, PHA and the Home Loan Bank system.

To forestall "a new North-South alliance" similar to the one which destroyed the Reconstruction governments, Abrams urged strengthening the whole national structure by multiplying and strengthening such bodies as New York's SCAD.

BROWNELL'S WAR AGAINST LIBERAL LAWYERS

What the Court ruling against Lawyers Guild means

ALMOST three years ago, on Aug. 27, 1953, Atty. Gen. Brownell in a speech before the American Bar Assn. in Boston declared that the leadership of the Natl. Lawyers Guild was "in the hands of card-carrying Communists and prominent fellow travelers." Next day the Guild was officially notified of Brownell's intention to place it on his list of subversive organizations.

Rarely does the chief Federal law enforcement officer pre-judge a matter as Brownell had done in this case. The Guild, angrily denying Brownell's unsupported charge, promptly sought an injunction in Federal District Court. It argued that the Presidential orders setting up the Attorney General's subversive list were constitutionally invalid and that the charge against the Guild had been wrongfully pre-judged in Brownell's public utterances—in a later speech in Indianapolis he had called the Guild "the legal mouthpiece of the Communist Party and its members."

CASE SENT BACK: The District Court denied the Guild an injunction, but the Federal Court of Appeals sent the case back with an order that "in the interests of justice" further administrative procedures against the Guild be postponed until the case could be heard on its merits. The District Court, after a hearing, granted a government motion to dismiss the Guild's complaint on the ground that administrative remedies had not been exhausted.

The Appeals Court upheld this ruling, and the Guild appealed to the Supreme Court. On May 7 that tribunal refused to hear the appeal, thus allowing the lower decision to stand. Said the Guild when notified of the Supreme Court action:

"Today's ruling . . . means only that the Natl. Lawyers Guild must go through the administrative proceeding before the Attorney General before it can have recourse to the courts.

Pete Seeger to sing at L.A. Arts Festival

PETE SEEGER, folk singer and American balladeer, will entertain at two concerts—Friday, June 1, and Sunday, June 3—as part of the 5th Annual Festival of the Arts at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. Paul Robeson, originally scheduled for these dates, has been canceled because of illness. Tickets already purchased for the Robeson Concerts will be honored on corresponding dates. A few tickets remain for sale at $1.50 at 2936 W. 8th St.

A FIGHT AHEAD: "It does not mean that legal and constitutional points raised by the Guild have been passed upon by the Supreme Court. It does not mean that the Guild is a subversive organization or should be put on a list.

"The Guild will contest the proceedings before the Attorney General and will prove that it is an organization of American lawyers dedicated to the best interests of the American people and the American Bar and that the Attorney General's attempt to put it on a list is unwarranted and unconstitutional."

The day after the Supreme Court's ruling on the Guild, a committee of the District of Columbia Bar Assn. recommended that the Attorney General's list be investigated. It declared that recent court decisions suggested that past or present membership in an organization on the list by itself was "an incompetent and arbitrary basis for denial by a state or federal government agency of any right or privilege."

New Sobell brief

(Continued from Page 1)

edly used the deportation exhibit and the contention that Sobell had traveled without a tourist card, to show the pattern of conspiracy and flight.

THE DOCUMENTS: Filed with the new Sobell brief are records of the Mexican Dept. of Immigration showing that Morton Sobell and family arrived in Mexico by air under their own names, bearing tourist card No. 70538.

Also produced is the American Airlines manifest showing Sobell's name and listing his family. Sobell had also registered his camera equipment with U.S. customs officials at Dallas to avoid paying duties on a return trip he plainly expected to make. Regulations require that passengers flying from Dallas to Mexico City show their tourist cards before boarding the plane, so the Sobells must have been traveling with identification.

An appeal

AN APPEAL to President Eisenhower to grant Morton Sobell executive pardon or commutation or to ask the Attorney General to consent to a new trial was made last week in a letter signed by 62 prominent Americans.

Included were: commentator Elmer Davis, authors Lewis Mumford and Waldo Frank, Nobel Prize scientists Dr. Harold Urey and Dr. Linus Pauling; clergymen Dr. Roland Bainton of the Yale Divinity School, Rev. John Paul Jones of Brooklyn, Dr. Paul L. Lehmann of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Also signing were: Dorothy Day, editor of the **Catholic Worker**; Minor Alexander of the American Friends Service Committee; Rev. Reginald H. Bass of the Community Church, Brooklyn; Rev. William Baird, Essex Community Church, Chicago; Rabbi Julian Feibelman, Temple Sinai, New Orleans; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School; Judge Patrick O'Brien, Detroit; Prof. Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kan.

Sobell, who, the prosecution said, had used a dozen aliases to cover his tracks in Mexico, also carried his birth certificate, his Social Security card, membership card in a scientific organization, and driver's license. To top it off, this alleged fugitive registered himself and his family in his own name at the places they stayed.

THE "DEPORTATION": Still, there was the U.S. Immigration Dept.'s record with the damning stamp: "Deported from Mexico." But records of the Mexican Dept. of Immigration show that Sobell was not deported. Although Mexican law is strict on the procedure to be followed, the notations to be made in any deportation case, there are no records of Sobell's deportation in Mexico City and none in Nuevo Laredo, the border town where Sobell was taken, allegedly by Mexican immigration officials.

According to the brief, when the chief of immigration at Nuevo Laredo was informed of Sobell's seizure, he complained to his chief in Mexico City that secret service agents had evaded the Dept. of Immigration in forcibly rushing Sobell to the U.S. on Aug. 18, 1950.

The Mexican authorities instituted an investigation and in September, 1950, told the Nuevo Laredo official that steps had been taken to prevent such violations of Mexican law in the future.

KIDNAPED: Far from being an orderly deportation of a fugitive, this then is the story, told in the brief, of how Morton Sobell was brought back from Mexico:

The Sobells left for a pleasure trip to Mexico on June 22, 1950. They had all the customary tourist documents, all made out in their own names.

On Aug. 16 the family went on a picnic. In the evening they returned to their apartment in Mexico City, were finishing supper when three Mexicans entered. They wore civilian clothes and identified themselves as officers of the Secret Police of the Federal District. They referred to Sobell as "Johnny Jones," insisted he was wanted for robbing a bank in Acapulco.

The Sobells offered identification documents which were confiscated. Sobell insisted on calling the U.S. Embassy. He was refused. More police arrived. Sobell was knocked unconscious, taken to a car and driven to Secret Police headquarters. When he demanded to know the charges he was beaten again.

Later in the night his wife and their two children were brought to police headquarters. At 4 a.m. on Aug. 17, 1950, Sobell was taken in one car, his family in another, both guarded. Periodically the cars would stop and a guard would report by telephone. At about 3 a.m. Aug. 18 they arrived in Nuevo Laredo and stopped several blocks from the bridge leading over the border to the U.S. They waited while the guard telephoned. Then, before they reached the American side of the bridge, an FBI agent entered the car and ordered the driver to go at once to the U.S. immigration office in Laredo, Tex.

THE LIE: There Sobell was ordered to sign certain papers and was placed in custody of an FBI agent. The Mexican Secret Police turned over to the FBI the documents they had confiscated from Sobell.

Before the well-planned assault on the Sobell apartment, agents had questioned neighbors, telling them they were acting for the U.S. government, that the Sobells were wanted for a variety of crimes including kidnaping. The Sobells' housekeeper was questioned repeatedly, her belongings searched and some of them confiscated. She was informed the U.S. Embassy was holding some of the seized property. The Embassy also figured as the scene of questioning in connection with the abduction.

The prosecutors Roy Cohn and Irving Saypol, the brief says, both must have known the full story of the kidnaping. One month after Sobell's illegal seizure in Mexico both went to Mexico City and interviewed persons connected with the event. During the trial Saypol indicated he knew the full details when he declared that Mrs. Sobell had been present from the time of the arrest to the moment Sobell was turned over to the FBI. Yet both prosecutors repeatedly stressed the point that Sobell had been deported from Mexico, caught in flight under suspicious circumstances. They offered as evidence the card stamped "Deported From Mexico," knowing it to be spurious, the brief charges.

MODERN DREYFUS CASE: It is charged they suppressed the evidence in possession of the government: for example, the tourist card which would have proved that the Sobells traveled legally and openly.

The Sobell attorneys contend that none of this could be proved at the trial because it took painstaking investigation. Sobell was confronted by what seemed incontrovertible evidence with no way to counter it since the government had confiscated his proofs.

Government attorneys said they would file a prompt answer to the brief. They must now defend themselves against a documented charge of planned assault, fraud and frame-up. More than that the whole case against the Rosenbergs threatens to crumble if the Sobell defense charges hold.

Even before the brief was filed Sidney Silverman, member of the British Parliament, joined in the mounting discussion on the case in the **Manchester Guardian.** He wrote:

"One day, I am confident, the United States will be as ashamed of these trials [Rosenberg-Sobell] as they already are of the Sacco and Vanzetti affair and as France is of the Dreyfus case."

AT 3 A.M. ON MAY 10, the governor of Cyprus hanged two young Cypriotes for alleged terrorism. One was accused of shooting a policeman to death; the other of shooting an English businessman with intent to kill. Both had denied their crime; both were denied a jury trial. After the governor had turned down pleas of clemency from the condemned youngsters and from France and the U. S. on the preceding day, angry Greeks in Athens stormed through the streets and damaged the American Information Library. Greek army units rushed to the aid of the terrified police (picture above); at least seven were killed, 200 injured, including 59 policemen. On Friday, Cypriote nationalists announced through leaflets they had hanged in reprisal two British soldiers they had taken as hostages earlier. A young Cypriote seen distributing leaflets was shot dead by British troops. The Paris newspaper **Combat** said that such brutal methods to hold on to the Cyprus colony would result in "the probable departure of Greece from the Atlantic Alliance."

A MOTHER PLEADS FOR HER SON

Britain hears about Sobell

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE FUROR over the plight of "200 Social Democrats imprisoned for their beliefs behind the Iron Curtain" brought up by Labour Party leaders at the famous dinner for Bulganin and Khrushchev has caused many in Britain to wonder when political leaders will protest against Washington's imprisonment of Americans for their beliefs. In the British press the blackout on this American persecution continues: a week after the opening of the latest Smith Act trial in New York, not a line about it had appeared here.

On one sector there has been a break-through: the case of Morton Sobell, serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz as a "spy." A lively correspondence in the **Manchester Guardian** about the case and its implications, following a letter from philosopher Bertrand Russell (GUARDIAN, 4/9), has drawn attention sharply to "free world" hypocrisy about freedom and justice in socialist countries. The break-through is the result of a gallant, 8,000-mile pilgrimage by a 61-year-old woman from the Bronx, Mrs. Rose Sobell, who has just returned to the U. S.

SHE TOLD HER STORY: Reaching Britain in February, Morton Sobell's mother—then a complete stranger to the outside world—had formidable obstacles to surmount from the outset. On the ship the British immigration officer told her she could not land but, after action by Londoners to whom she radioed for help, she received a three-week permit. In that short time Mrs. Sobell met and told her son's story to:

MORTON SOBELL
They listened to the story

- Six Labour MP's headed by Sydney Silverman, defender of the Rosenbergs and sponsor of the anti-capital punishment bill, who received her in the House of Commons.
- The Executive of the Fire Brigades Union and an important group of trade unionists and Labour Councillors, who passed the information along to their organizations for action.
- Prominent churchmen including Canon Collins of St. Paul's, the Bishop of Chichester and a group of Jesuits at Oxford. (The chief Rabbi, whom she tried to reach to arouse the concern of Jewish groups, would not speak to her.)
- Women's Assembly groups, and a group convened in Holy Trinity rectory, Dalston (east London), who promptly formed a local Sobell committee.
- A businessmen's group, who subscribed funds from which a national Sobell committee office has been set up in London.
- A Manchester group of former campaigners for the Rosenbergs, whose old committee was immediately revived to take up Sobell's cause.

THE RUSSELL RUCKUS: The effect of Mrs. Sobell's honest and courageous personality on Britons concerned about "free world" justice was indicated by Bertrand Russell's action following her visit to him. He told her he was not prepared to do anything until he read all the material she brought. The John Wexley book (published here this month but so far unreviewed) and Prof. Harold Urey's statement convinced him.

His **Guardian** letter elicited some indignant counter-blasts from pro-Washingtonians, including outright lies such as "the FBI has no power to arrest." Russell blasted back, suggesting that defenders of Washington justice should first discover the facts before sounding off. He received many letters asking further information which he has forwarded—with a donation for further spreading of the facts—to the new committee.

In Paris, where Mrs. Sobell spent two weeks after a visit to Rome, a public meeting in defense of Sobell was held April 23; in London a meeting is set for June 19, Rosenberg commemoration day. Mrs. Sobell, who did not know anyone in the three European capitals when she arrived, left with many warm friends of her son's cause to which she devoted every moment of her pilgrimage. As the first American directly connected with a cold-war persecution case to slip through the Cadillac Curtain on such a mission in several years, she has done an outstanding job.

THE PROCEEDINGS ARE "BIZARRE"

Methodist Fedn. pushes fight to bar printing of Eastland Committee pamphlet

LAST DECEMBER Sen. James O. Eastland's subcommittee on Internal Security issued a 100-page pamphlet called **Handbook for Americans** which charged on page 91 that "the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action." Actually the Federation, which has always been headed by Bishops of the church or by well-known Methodist ministers, was formed in 1907, some 12 years before there was a Communist Party in the U.S.

The Federation promptly requested a hearing to dispute its listing as a "communist front" and was turned down. Since then, with the help of the Religious Freedom Committee, it has sought to have the Senate committee withdraw and repudiate the pamphlet, of which 6,500 copies were originally printed and distributed.

HANDBOOK VS. GOSPEL: Instead of withdrawing the booklet, the Eastland committee last month wangled a joint Senate-House resolution authorizing the printing and distribution of an additional 75,000 copies. The Religious Freedom Committee decided to go to court against this action and assailed the pamphlet anew:

"The 'Handbook for Americans' has become, under the authority of the Senate, a weapon in the hands of those, inside and outside the churches, who are opposed to the social application of the Gospel, thus interfering in a religious controversy in violation of the basic principle of separation of church and state."

The two religious organizations called upon the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for legal aid, and on May 2 an application for an injunction against printing and distribution of the pamphlet was filed, charging that the original denial of a hearing to the Federation had deprived it of due process of law guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. Federal Judge Robert N. Wilkin granted a temporary injunction that same day, to remain in force until May 11 when papers were to be filed for a permanent injunction. Then things happened rapidly.

BIZARRE: Next day, May 3, Sen. Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.), chairman of the House-Senate Committee on Printing, denounced the injunction and ordered the Government Printing Office to disregard it.

HARRY F. WARD
Tireless warrior for decency

Late that same night Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts summoned ECLC attorney Harry I. Rand to his home and in his presence vacated the injunction granted the day before by his fellow-judge. Judge Letts said it was his judgment that the restraining order was an interference with the legislative function and "constituted an unwarranted and unauthorized action by the judiciary."

This action was so unusual that it was referred to in one news report as "bizarre."

POWERS TESTED: On the following Monday, May 7, ECLC attorneys were granted a hearing before a three-man panel headed by Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton of the U. S. Court of Appeals. May 15 was set for a thorough airing of the entire matter before a three-judge statutory court. It will be the first legal test of constitutional limits on what ECLC calls "extra-legislative" activities of Congressional committees.

To raise funds to carry through the action, the ECLC will hold a luncheon meeting on Thurs., May 24, at the McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y.C. Speakers will be Rev. William Howard Melish of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church, and Martin Hall, distinguished Los Angeles lecturer. Dr. Harry F. Ward, one of the founders of the Methodist Federation, will preside. Reservations at $2.50 each can be made at ECLC offices, 421 Seventh Av., N.Y.C. 1; telephone OXford 5-2863.

LECTURE DATE KEPT

Protests reverse Canadian refusal to admit Lamont

CORLISS LAMONT
After his removal from train

SWIFT AND VIGOROUS protests last week brought an overnight reversal of a Canadian border ban against Dr. Corliss Lamont. As a result he was enabled to keep a lecture appointment in Toronto where he spoke before the Humanist Assn. on "Humanism Versus the Traditional Religions."

Lamont, now on a three-week lecture tour, was removed from a train in Windsor, Ont., on orders from immigration officer Charles McGinty and sent back across the river to Detroit. McGinty reportedly acted under a section of Canadian immigration law which bars persons suspected of past or present associations with organizations favoring the overthrow of the government. Dr. Lamont has repeatedly denied such association.

THE INSTIGATOR: In Detroit he expressed the belief that his expulsion was "instigated" by Washington. Later he said:

"I contended that I had never belonged to any organization that was trying to subvert democratic government and the ones that I did belong to that were sometimes called subversive I am no longer a member of."

When Lamont learned that the Toronto sponsors of his meeting were protesting directly to government officials in Ottawa, he returned to Windsor and filed an appeal to Immigration Minister J. W. Pickersgill. The government gave no reason for rescinding the ban. Rev. William T. Jenkins of the First Unitarian Church of Toronto had called it an infringement of the freedom of religion. The Humanist Assn., sponsored by the Unitarian Church, also protested and later greeted the reversal as "consistent with Canada's democratic traditions."

IT'S ALL A PLOT: In an interview in Toronto before his scheduled talk, Lamont repeated his denials that he has ever been a member of the Communist Party and said:

"I disagree with communism on specific principles and actions, but have always refused to issue a blanket condemnation."

Recent Canadian exclusion of William A. Reuben, author of **The Atom Spy Hoax,** and of Paul Robeson prompted some to see a U. S. left-wing plot against Canada. A report to the N. Y. **Times** from Ottawa said:

"Some Canadian officials expressed the view this afternoon [May 8] that leftist groups in the United States might have embarked on a program to harass United States-Canadian relations by a concerted campaign to make Canada appear to be closing her border to ideas."

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THE DECISION WILL HAVE TO COME

The Supreme Court and the CP

By Daniel M. Berman
(Special to the Guardian)

(The author is a candidate for a doctorate in political science at Rutgers U. and is writing his thesis on the political philosophy of Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black. He was present in the Court when the decision on the Communist Party was announced.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE SUPREME COURT has postponed the decision it will eventually have to make about the constitutionality of the McCarran "Internal Security" Act of 1950. The Court has declined to pass now on the constitutional issues raised by the Communist Party, which appealed from an order directing it to register with the Attorney General. Instead, six Justices overrode a vigorous three-man dissent and returned the case to the Subversive Activities Control Board in order that the tainted testimony of professional informers Harvey Matusow, the late Paul Crouch, and Manning Johnson may be reexamined.

Liberals, disappointed that the Court missed a chance to strike down one of the most grotesque monuments to the McCarthy-McCarran era, can take solace in the knowledge that this decision was the best that could have been produced by the Supreme Court as presently constituted. For the dismal fact is that the Court does not at present contain five Justices who believe in stating outright that old-fashioned Jeffersonian liberalism is reason enough for invalidating the noxious limitations on freedom of dissent that have proliferated during the Cold War period. In order to attract a majority, a narrow—preferably technical—issue is desirable. Without such an issue, and despite much talk of a freedom-loving Court holding back the tide of repression, there is just no liberal majority on the Court.

THE FIFTH MAN: It is true that Chief Justice Warren has often sided with Justices Black and Douglas, whose libertarian essays have been thrilling in their very monotony. And occasionally Justice Frankfurter, whom some still remember as a liberal, will go along. But to get the all-important fifth man from among Justices Burton, Clark, Harlan, Minton, and Reed is not easy, and one can only marvel when it is done.

It is clear that it could not have been done in this case. Only the certainty of defeat could have kept Black and Douglas from joining Clark, Minton and Reed in demanding that the constitutional issue be faced squarely. Clark blurted out as much when, in an extemporaneous interpolation in his furious dissent, he assailed the majority for sidestepping the vital problems that the case presented. "Why the delay?" he demanded. "It is obvious what our decision will be when we do rule on the constitutionality of the Act!"

TIME MAY TELL: Actually, of course, it is not at all obvious. The most that can be said to be obvious is that, had the Court passed on the Act last month, it would have sustained it. What will happen after hearings before a completely reconstituted SACB and after time has had a chance to improve the international atmosphere and—heaven forfend—the composition of the Court, is less obvious.

The most interesting new face on the five-member SACB is Harry P. Cain. When he was a Senator from Washington, Cain was known best for views that made Sen. Taft's seem radical by comparison. Since his appointment in 1953 to the Board, however, Cain has become known for views on civil liberties that make the ADA's seem conservative by comparison.

In a speech last year, Cain assailed the idea that Communism is "a menace so powerful and pervasive that we must look for it through methods which are self-defeating and see it in places where it does not exist." Cain also bitterly attacked the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

BLOW TO INFORMERS: Justice Clark, the author of the Attorney General's list, spoke with ire as he dissented from the Frankfurter ruling that will send the Communist case to a board which now has the mark of Cain. "The Court here disregards its plain responsibility and duty to decide these important constitutional questions," he declared. "I have not found any case in the history of the Court where important constitutional issues have been avoided on such a pretext. . . . The only purpose of this procedural maneuver is to gain additional time before the order to register becomes effective. This proceeding has dragged out for many years now, and the function of the Board remains suspended at a most critical time in world history."

If delay was the only purpose of the Court's decision, it was not the only result. Foremost among other results is the black eye that has now been administered to the Government's system of professional informers. The book, **False Witness,** had of course exposed the whole noisome mess, but now people could quote Frankfurter instead of Matusow: ". . . uncontested challenge is made that a finding of subversive design by petitioner was in part the product of three perjurious witnesses. . . ."

THE PUNISHMENT: The Matusow recantation has thus at least temporarily wrested from the Government its power under the Act to proceed against the CP. This power would be incredibly far-reaching. If the Act is ever sustained, members of organizations branded "Communist-action" would be unable to apply for passports, hold non-elective government jobs or offices in labor unions, or work in defense plants. In addition, a recently naturalized citizen could be stripped of his citizenship, and an alien could be deported or at a minimum would be forever ineligible for citizenship.

Disabilities imposed on members of "Communist-front" organizations would be similarly severe. For every day that a member of either class of subversive organization failed to register, he could be punished by a five-year jail term or a $10,000 fine.

It is ironic that the CP itself clearly did not dream that it would win its case on the ground that perjured testimony had been used against it. The Party's 270-page brief devoted only 4½ pages to this point. Of course the Communists would have preferred to have the entire Act thrown out as an unconstitutional abridgment of First Amendment freedoms. But the Court's decision serves the purpose temporarily: it blocks the Government from making the Party choose between labelling itself a foreign agent or seeing its members go to jail. Any postponement of that day makes it a little more possible that the day will never come.

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TOKYO, JAPAN

The affair that happened at the University of Alabama made me disappointed a good deal. I'm afraid there are a lot of Americans who think themselves superior to all Negroes in all things.

The American people's progress in science is wonderful, but their ways of thought are not well balanced with the result of natural science. **Takeshi Mochiyuki**

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CALENDAR

Chicago

SAT., MAY 26. Soviet-style feast. 2757 LeMoyne. Dinner 7 p.m. Exclusive showing of new Soviet film 8:30 p.m. Reservations (incl. admission to film) $2 from Chi. Counc. of Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison, AN 3-1877. Film only: donation $1.

FRIENDSHIP THRU THE OLYMPICS
American and Soviet color films of Olympic stars in action. Speaker. Ausp. Chi-Coun. Amer.-Sov. Friendship. Benefit: US Olympic Fund. Don. $1 & up. Sat., June 9, Masonic Bldg., 32 W. Randolph.

"THE GENTLE AND THE BRAVE"
featuring Earl Robinson
presented by Chicago Sobell Committee June 16 8:30 p.m. at Wood Hall, 218 South Wabash Av.

Los Angeles

First Unitarian Church
FIFTH ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF ARTS
Lester Cole's New Play
"THE ECHOING HILLS"
Final performance May 26, 8:30 p.m. A drama of the struggles of the Abolitionists in pre-Civil War Virginia. Directed by Robert Davis. All-star professional cast. Improved sound system. Tickets at First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street. Admission $1.50.

FIRST AMERICAN PERFORMANCE
Mozart's **"A FREEMASON CANTATA."** Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church Chorus with guest soloists. Directed by Arthur Atkins. English version by William E. Oliver. Music edited by Waldemar Hille. George Neikrug, cellist, plays Kabalevsky's Concerto "I Hear America Singing," Kleinsinger-Whitman, Arthur Atkins soloist, Sidney Fox conductor. Adm. $1. Tickets at Church.

OTHER FESTIVAL EVENTS
EXHIBIT SCHEDULES: Fri., May 25, 7-11 p.m.; Sat., May 26, 1-11 p.m.; Sun., May 27, 1-5 p.m.; Fri., June 1, 7-11 p.m.; Sat., June 2, 1-5 p.m.; Sun., June 3, 1-11 p.m.
GALLERY TALK: June 3, 2 p.m. Frank Kleinholtz. Adm. 50c. **EXHIBIT TOURS:** 2 p.m., May 26, Lila Ulrich Koppelman; 2 p.m., June 2, J. Bennett Olson. **FILMS FOR CHILDREN** June 3, 2 p.m. Adm. 25c.

San Francisco

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION — Honoring SIDNEY ROGER'S 15 YEARS ON RADIO. June 1st. Les Pine, comedian. Noted Speakers. Dessert & Coffee $1.50. Merchandise Mart Club, 1355 Market St. For Tickets: 150 Golden Gate Av.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"WORLD WITHOUT END,"** May 19. Made by Paul Rotha and Basil Wright with the wonderfully affirmative quality of the "Family of Man" photographs, this film shows how the world's knowledge of medicine, agriculture and education can be put to work for all peoples. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **VOLPONE.**

WED., MAY 23, 8:30 P.M. Round-Table Forum on **CIVIL LIBERTIES AND SOCIALISM** in the U.S., with Max Weiss, James S. Allen, Myer Weise. Moderator: Doxey A. Wilkerson. Jefferson School, 575 6 Av. Adm: $1.

THURS., MAY 24, 8:30 p.m. Jefferson School "History in the Making" Lecture Series. John Abt on "The Courts & the Bill of Rights: 1949-1956. New Prospects for Civil Liberties in the U.S." 575 6th Av. Adm: $1.

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Free Buffet Contribution $1.

33RD ANNUAL CONCERT
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Eugene Malek, Conductor, presents
HANDEL'S ORATORIO "JOSHUA"
Sat., May 26, 8:30 p.m., Carnegie Hall. Richard Tucker, Alice Richmon, Manfred Hecht guest soloists. Tickets: Carnegie Hall or 189 2nd Av. 2nd floor).

RECEPTION
for
Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard Boudin
Saturday, May 26, at 9 p.m.
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Orientation

E. LANSING, MICH.

I have read several issues of your publication with true enthusiasm. The content of the articles seemed to me enlightened and honest. People of your courage and integrity are needed to defend the rights for which mankind is fighting in these crucial moments.

As a foreign student, I regret that the NATIONAL GUARDIAN does not have a wide circulation, like the powerful newspaper chains which "orient" the American public opinion.

D.S.V.

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the SPECTATOR

The Move Ahead

Mind if we blow your horn a bit in this space this week? We've got such a torrent of concerned mail about the GUARDIAN's moving to new quarters, and such an outpouring of warm feeling for our paper, that we just had to let a sampling of the expressions see the light of day. At the bottom of this column we reproduce an old print that a reader sent in. Please, all of you, accept the halo.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

When I read your report "We Say Goodbye to 17 Murray Street," tears flowed thick and fast as I knew how you all felt to leave the old stand after eight years of such wonderful service to the world. Here's hoping much brighter days are in store. God bless you all and our Editor-in-Exile, Mr. Belfrage, for the noble stand you have all taken.

Old Faithful

•

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Congratulations on the GUARDIAN's face-lifting! Let's hope its new clear-cut type will further greater readership plus new subscribers.

Helen Ross

•

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

When the NATIONAL GUARDIAN arrives, I spend a pleasant evening, as with old friends, reading about the happenings on national, international and cultural scenes and much information that I fail to get elsewhere. I feel that in spite of the terrible persecutions, the lack of constitutional justice, the jailing of some very fine human beings, the lack of interest the majority of our people show in the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, —in spite of all this, the world is moving forward and the progressive mind will not be crushed. So here's hoping my small contribution to the moving fund will keep this messenger of truth, agony and joy coming to our house with its vital news.

Bertrand E. Brown

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

. . . $5 to tide over the financial crisis. The "halo" would shine brighter if it could be more of a gift.

Edna E. Crum

•

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I'm splitting my $10 so that a farewell $5 and a good luck $5 will greet you in the new building.

Thel

•

HOUSTON, TEX.

I wish to repeat the name I have always said that I love—the GUARDIAN and all its friends and it stands for. I was for it back in '48 and I am still with it, hoping and praying that it continue its life and come to the very end of this old world and right on into the new world. I know of no other paper or magazine that is more Christian than the GUARDIAN, and one of my many sorrows is that I am not permitted in any way to more help the paper along as I one time did in the past.

I am so crippled up in many ways, unable to work and make money any more or do much else of anything. Sorry I am so helpless. And I want to thank you dear friends for sending me the paper.

Unsigned.

•

KERMAN, CALIF.

We realize how difficult it is for a working class press to exist in a capitalist system. So far your paper has done wonderful work—we hope you can continue to do so for the future.

Wm. Sprogis

•

NEW SALISBURY, IND.

Being a poor old man, I can't help you pecuniarily but will give you my moral support; will introduce the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to a large number of people. I like the paper because it favors socialism and publishes news that the big daily papers do not publish. Continue to expose the ignoramuses and crooks in our government. Continue even if you have to cut down the size of the paper one-half. We need liberal papers, papers that tell the truth.

Jacob D. W. Green

•

WAUCONDA, ILL.

All leftist publications are feeling the effects of apathy, fear and indifference on the part of potential readers on the one hand and on the other, reaction and repression on the part of the Wall Street boys and their government.

I hope you wonderful, unselfish people who are carrying the brunt of this desperate struggle for survival will succeed in raising the money to maintain the GUARDIAN. The future is on our side but we need the GUARDIAN to help the cause along.

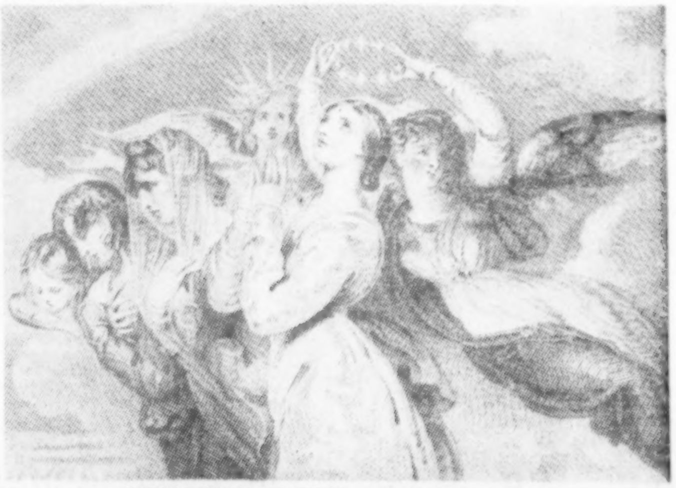
L. Deenik

•

DOVE CREEK, COLO.

It's the bravest and most analyzing paper we have! Keep up the vigilant fight. In the end the forces of right must win. The truth is the most powerful weapon. Just now, we are trying to get the Farmers Union going in our vicinity.

Harry C. Rogers



"GUARDIAN ANGEL"—A Victorian Print.